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[title page]
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ONE

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Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities and Material Culture

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The following notes are intended mainly to serve as a minimum explanation and identification of the illustrations which appear at the end of the report. All of the pictures reproduced here combine interest with uniqueness, and refer to one single tribal and linguistic group of the state of Nevada, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute who in pre-Caucasian times held the western half of the state. None of these illustrations are recent, but date mainly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Relevant literature (books, articles, and newspaper accounts) are cited to assist those persons who desire to find additional data on each subject referred to.

The source of the illustrations is as follows: Plate 1, *left*, and Plates 2 and 3 were all copied by me about 1930 from original prints in the possession of John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada. Permission to publish these was granted by him verbally at the time, and is more formally stated by him in a letter to me under date of January 27, 1941. Plates 4–9 come from the C. Hart Merriam collection deposited at the University of California in the Department of Anthropology (Berkeley), and date from over a half-century ago.

PLATE 1

Chief Winnemucca. The photograph at left was probably taken in Virginia City some time before 1882. A similar photograph of Winnemucca standing and dressed in the same military uniform can be so placed and dated. The drawing on the right is indicated as taken from a photograph by Noe and Lee, Virginia City. This illustration first appears in Dan DeQuille's *History of the Big Bonanza* (1876, fig. opp. p. 266), and a similar one is shown in Thompson and West's *History of Nevada* (1881, fig. opp. p. 144).

While it is sometimes claimed (e.g., Collins, 1953) that Captain Truckee was Winnemucca's father, this seems not to have been the case.[1] DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) states that Winnemucca had three or four wives, one of whom was a daughter of Truckee, and that this wife bore the famous daughter, Sarah. DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 265) writes that in 1875 Winnemucca at that time was about seventy years old, and his death may be dated in October, 1882. Taylor (1860) states that Winnemucca was said to be over seventy years of age in 1860. The Virginia Enterprise

[1]Captain Truckee, the famous guide, is first known in history when in October, 1844, at the Sink of the Humboldt, he became attached to the Stevens-Townsend-Murphy party as a guide. One of this party gave Truckee his name after a French-Canadian scout whom he knew, and this name was also applied to the river which flows out of Lake Tahoe and empties into Pyramid Lake. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1883, p. 9) says Fremont gave Truckee this name. Truckee is said to have been a main chief of the Paviotso of western Nevada. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, chap. 1) corroborates the statements made above, and tells how Truckee, with a party of twelve men, went to California with Fremont and took part in the fighting against the Mexicans. This, in turn, is corroborated by Edwin Bryant (1849, pp. 227–28), who says that Truckee with his brother came to California with a party of emigrants and accompanied the California Battalion on its march from Monterey to the Ciudad de Los Angeles in 1846. Bryant saw Truckee and a lesser chief in 1846 twenty-five miles above the Sink of the Humboldt. Truckee's death, possibly resulting from a tarantula bite, occurred in October, 1860, near Como, in the Palmyra District, Lyon County. He was buried on a ridge west of Como, on the outcropping of the old Goliah ledge, beneath the pinon trees. In his grave were placed a small bible given him by Fremont and other papers (Irons, 1883, pp. 98–99; DeQuille, 1876, p. 269). Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, chap. IV) gives a quite different version of Truckee's death and burial.

159 (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, appears to quote Sarah as stating her father was then about eighty years old. Sarah Winnemucca (1882, p. 252) states that both she and her father were born at the Sink of the Humboldt River (i.e., Humboldt Lake).

[55] The name Winnemucca has been given a variety of meanings. The Pacific Tourist (Williams, 1876, p. 191) says the word means "chief"; DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it means "charitable man." In 1931 Skinny Dave, whose mother was Sis Winnemucca (a daughter of Truckee John or *Wa-hee Winnemucca*, who was the brother of Chief Winnemucca)[2] and whose father was *Numana* [304] (Captain Dave), told me that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Mubetawaka*, "man with hole in his nose," the name coming from the pierced nasal septum in which he wore a stick or bone about 4 inches long. This nose-pin can be seen in Plate 1, *right*. Thompson and West (1881, p. 151) say that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Po-i-to*.

[77] The feather headdress which Winnemucca wears in Plate 1, *right*, is not an aboriginal Nevada form, but is clearly recognizable as a ceremonial headgear of the sort used by Central California Indians north of San Francisco Bay in a ritual called the *KUKSU* cult. Since he is known to have been in California, it may be presumed that Winnemucca secured this bit of ceremonial finery from across the Sierras.

The Winnemucca we have been speaking about, and who is shown on Plate 1, is often referred to as Chief Winnemucca or Old Winnemucca to distinguish him from his nephew *Numaga* or Young Winnemucca (DeQuille, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Young Winnemucca's picture is shown by Thompson and West (*op. cit.*, opp. p. 144), but they erroneously state (*ibid.*, p. 151) that he was not related to Old Winnemucca. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 60) correctly refers to Young Winnemucca as her cousin.

The death of Winnemucca rated some notice in the press, and the San Francisco Call of October 15, 1882 carried the story of his last illness. Winnemucca died at Coppersmith Station on October 21, 1882, and attributed his illness to having been bewitched by his young wife. Either on the night of his death or a few days afterward (the accounts are not in agreement on this point), the young wife and her three-year-old child were stoned to death as punishment for causing her husband's death. This incident, with the newspaper accounts quoted in full, has been presented elsewhere in publication (Heizer, 1955).

PLATE 2

Sarah Winnemucca. Sarah, whose father was Old Winnemucca and whose mother was a daughter of Captain Truckee, in some way acquired a fair education. She and her father correctly saw that the only hope for the Indians' survival lay in cooperation and submission rather than in war, and that only an informed public could help the Indians by bringing pressure upon the Department of the Interior to appoint honest Indian agents. Sarah's life is one of extraordinary interest, and is too lengthy and complex to be sketched here. In her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, she indicates her birth at about 1844, although a few years earlier she gave information appearing in the Virginia Enterprise (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, that she was then about thirty-one years of age, which would make her birth year 1848. She states in her book (*ibid.*, p. 70) that she was taken to San Jose, California, in 1860 to school, but stayed only three weeks because of objections raised by parents of Caucasian children also attending. The Virginia Enterprise (Jan. 14, 1879) says that she and two of her sisters (Mary and Emma, probably) stayed seven years in a "select school" in San Jose. She was married at least three times to white men; first to a man named Snyder who died on his way to Germany on a visit, next (in 1876) to a Lt. Bartlett, USA, with whom she lived only a short time, and then to a man named Hopkins whose name she still used when she published her book in 1883. Her Indian name is variously given; De Quille

[2] The death of Chief Winnemucca's brother, Wa-hee Winnemucca, also known as Truckee John, occurred in 1859 at the hand of Augustus Moore, who shot Wa-hee for stealing a valuable mare which he owned and kept on his ranch in Truckee Meadows (Moore, 1878, pp. 15–19).

(*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it is *Sonometa*; Sarah, in her book (*op. cit.*, p. 47) gives it as *Thocmetony*, "shell flower," and in an article a year earlier (Sarah Winnemucca, 1882), it is rendered *Somittone*, "shell flower." 159

Sarah's costume is not that of the aboriginal Paviotso which was limited to the briefest sort of skirt made of leather or shredded tule or sagebrush bark, but is obviously of the type characteristic of the Great Plains and Plateau area. It can be safely assumed that she acquired this dress as a lecture costume. The San Francisco Call (newspaper) of October 18, 1883, describes what is apparently the same garment as follows: "Her apparel was of dressed deerskin, buff-colored and heavily fringed with beads, reaching a little below her knees, and displaying her legs encased in red leather leggings and a pair of mocassins trimmed to match her dress. Pendant at her side was an handsomely embroidered pouch. Her black hair, which reached below her waist, was brushed smoothly back from her forehead." 159 291 [177] [302]

Sometime during the late 1870's Sarah began to give public lectures on Indian life and on the outrageous treatment of the Nevada Indians by the Federal Government. She visited San Francisco on several occasions for this purpose, and summaries of her talks appear in such newspapers as the Call, Alta, and Union during the 1880's. Many letters written by her to Indian agents and to officials connected with the office of Indian Affairs in Washington were also published (presumably from copies sent by her to editors) in the newspapers. All in all she achieved a fair degree of fame, and is said to have gone East and given a series of lectures, this trip bringing her into contact with Mrs. Horace Mann who apparently helped Sarah get the manuscript of her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, in shape and found for her a publisher in Boston. While we have no information whether the book made money for Sarah to continue the fight on behalf of her people, it is now a very scarce and difficult work to obtain. It appears that Sarah, through her lectures, stirred up enough public interest to cause some alarm among officials of the Department of the Interior, and in late 1878 Sarah, together with her father, Old Winnemucca, and her brother, Natches, was brought to Washington at government expense and there interviewed by the then Secretary of the Interior, Schurz. Her account of this experience indicates clearly that official Washington considered her a nuisance and troublemaker, but at the same time a power to deal with. She was told to go back home and tell her people that they would be given canvas for tents, and food. This she did, but she also tells touchingly in her book about the failure of the government to fulfill its promise and of the continued misery and suffering of her people. While her efforts on behalf of the Paviotso did not ever accompliah much because she was fighting a corrupt, indifferent, and powerful governmental agency, her selfless motives and tremendous energies and high purpose make her a person to admire in the history of our far West. 159 648

The date and place of her death are not known to me, although they could no doubt be determined if one searched the newspapers of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Virginia Enterprise newspaper article of January 14, 1879 refers to a son of hers who was at that time attending school in Silver City, but of him I have no other information beyond this statement. 159

PLATE 3

Sarah Winnemucca and her husband, Mr. Hopkins. The left picture is one of Sarah in Caucasian dress and beneath it in a very fair hand is written in ink: "Your Loveing Sister Sarah Winnemucca." It is undocumented but probably dates from about 1880; the sister referred to is probably either Mary or Emma.

The center picture is unidentified as to place and time, but a guess may be hazarded that this is one of her early lecture costumes and therefore may date from about 1879 or 1880. It is obviously taken in a studio, perhaps in San Francisco where she spoke many times.

The right picture is that of Mr. Hopkins, her third Caucasian husband. This looks like a daguerrotype photograph, and may not date from the time of her brief marraige with him (1882 or 1883) but from an earlier period. The photograph is associated with the two described above, and derives directly from Sarah through her brother, Natches, who gave them to his friend, John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada, sometime around 1900.

PLATE 4

342 *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary [222 shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of 263] the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada. The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1950). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and [415] metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

[114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi. Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with [415 dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made water-531] tight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined 253 winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*, pp. 117–22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the 222 water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians 261 Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no pollywogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule *(Scirpus)* tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui* (*Chamistes cujus*, a fish) eaters."[3] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular-bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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[3]Frémont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud and Harrington (1929, pp. 156-57).

PLATE 9

342 *Pyramid Lake houses.* Plate 9, *top*, is a general view of a group of Paviotso summer shelters. A flat-roofed, rectangular ramada is at the far left, then an unroofed willow branch shelter. To the right is another flat-roofed structure which served as a sunshade and for food storage, and at right is a "tent" which takes the form of a partially-covered conical frame of poles. The conical tent or tipi was not known aboriginally to these people, and after the Indians could secure canvas they learned to use this material to cover the frame of a temporary structure.

Plate 9, *bottom*, shows a permanent rectangular, tule-thatched house in the Truckee River bottomland near Pyramid Lake. Such houses were reasonably watertight and, while dark inside, could be kept warm in winter. Strictly speaking, such a house would be lived in during the cold and wet winter and abandoned during the extremely hot summer in favor of a brush shelter like those shown in Plates 7 and 8 which were built nearer the lakeshore and the fishing spots. The framing is of light poles set in the ground and arched over at the top. On these are laid sheaves of the round-stemmed tule rush *(Scirpus lacustris)* which are "shingled" or lapped as shown in the photograph to shed rainwater and are attached to the pole framework beneath by light willow poles laid horizontally over the thatch. In front of the house (and no doubt brought [415] from inside the house and set out for the photographer) are coiled basketry bowls, coarse twined burden baskets, concave twined winnowing trays, and a twined basketry canteen. This is the ancient pre-Caucasian type of house which has long since been given up by the Paviotso in favor of cabins built of sawed lumber, and this photograph (taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in July, 1903) is a unique pictorial record of the last days of the old way of life that prevailed in Nevada for thousands of years before the white man came.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON PAVIOTSO CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 The idea that Indian tribes were led by strong chiefs who were accorded authority and were served with obedience by members of the group is a widely held one by white men. While it is doubtless true that there were native headmen in pre-Caucasian times, such persons seem to have had little authority and their leadership rested in the wisdom which they displayed and their ability to give good advice.[4] They were not strong chiefs whose word was law, but persons looked up to and whose advice was usually followed if it appeared to be sound. When the whites appeared it was necessary for Indian groups to have spokesmen who could represent their people. If there [777] were no such functionaries the white men often created them by the simple practice of treating one person as though he was, in fact, a strong chief whose group acknowledged his authority. By assuming that there were chiefs of the sort the white man expected to find, there thus became such chiefs. This matter I have discussed elsewhere (Heizer, 1955) and have cited evidence of California Indian chiefs who were "created" by whites.[5]

622 It is my impression that in the early stages of the contact of the Caucasian and Indian peoples 648 in the Far West (this stage being marked by the appearance of the whites in considerable numbers and by their evident intention to stay and become permanently attached to the land) strong Indian chiefs did exist and function as leaders of their people and as intermediaries between Indians and

[4] In Nevada where the economic struggle for survival was an unremitting one, the chief (in pre-Caucasian times) was largely occupied in guiding the group in their search for food. Aside from special "hunt chiefs" who directed the group in a specialized communal hunt for rabbits or antelope or deer, the chief seems to have been looked to for advice on when the group should move in order to collect a particular kind of food at a certain locality. This may be illustrated by citing Sarah Winnemucca (1882): "When the spirit moves the chief, he arises and speaks in a loud voice to his people. At these times all work must cease. If a woman is cooking a meal, it must be left undone. All fold their hands, incline their heads, and listen to what he has to say; and then, when he is through, they go on again with their work, as left before he commenced to speak. Before every event, the chief gets up first in the morning, and the people are warned to get ready. If it is for a fishing excursion, or to hunt deer, or for any other excursion, he tells them to get ready—all that are to go."

[5] For a review of civil authority among American Indians see Lowie (1948).

Caucasions. This stage of interracial contact which created the milieu of Indian groups under pressure and who needed a strong leader, and of Caucasians who had to handle the "Indian problem" by negotiation rather than by force if possible, is what may have led to the emergence of Old Winnemucca as a strong chief. The record is clear that he had much more prestige, support, and authority among the Paviotso in the 1860–1870 decade than in the 1880's when the Paviotso tribe no longer could be considered a "problem" (i.e., after the Indians had been "reduced" in the Pyramid Lake war).

After Winnemucca, although his name is today remembered and honored among the Paviotso, his son and successor, Natches, was much less important as a chief *because a strong chief was no longer required by the whites.*

The lineal descent of the chief's position survives today, but a man whose father and grandfather were chiefs, and who today claims that title, may be laughed at for his pretensions by most of the Indians he claims to represent. That this is true of the Washoe tribe is probable, and in my own experience of thirty years ago, I recall that Skinny Dave at the Lovelock Indian Colony was the self-styled chief who was laughed at for this by most of his fellow tribesmen. His claim to the office was correct since his grandfather was Captain Dave, who was married to a daughter of Old Winnemucca—what made it different was that in 1930 Indian chiefs were no longer either needed or in vogue. Sarah Winnemucca (1882) says of this: "I will now speak of the chief. His rank is inherited from father to son, the oldest being the chief by law. If he is dead, the one next to him became chief, or, if there are no sons, the next male relative; but never a woman."

For some reason which I do not understand, this subject has been practically ignored by ethnologists. Before Indian memories become too dim to provide accurate testimony, some student should make detailed inquiries into the matter of Paviotso chieftainship and combine these data with the rich documentary record to produce what is a much-needed study.

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PLATE 1

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PO-I-TO, an OLD WINNEMUCCA.

PLATE 2

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PLATE 3

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PLATE 4

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PLATE 5

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PLATE 6

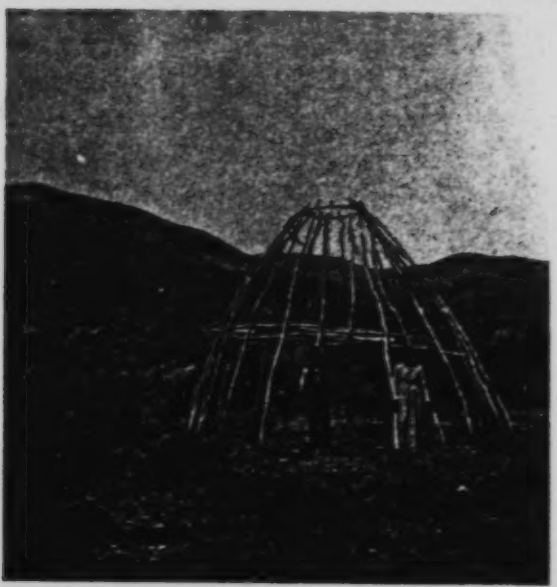

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PLATE 8

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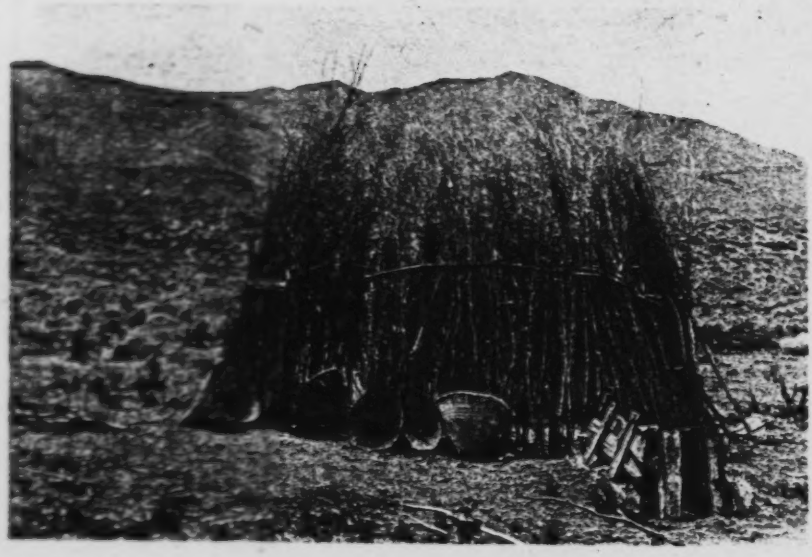

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PLATE 9

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